/362 cont./

262 [252] The Chiriguano call kumanara a leguminous plant, wild, which resembles the yuca and which can serve as food after being boiled. They resort to it only when pressed by hunger. The word designating this plant has a strange resemblance to [92] the name of the batata in the Quichua dialects of Ecuador and northern Peru (Rivet, 3, pp. 583-590). It is perhaps a question of a Quichua word introduced into the Chiriguano language to designate a plant of which they did not have the equivalent in their original homeland. The case is nevertheless rare, and one can wonder if it is not a simple coincidence.

[222] [071] Neither do the Chiriguano look down on honey, although they do not seek it with the passion of their cousins, the Kainguá. What I tasted among them was contained in thin honeycombs having the consistency of cardboard. It had a pleasant taste.

222 784 Any Indian who goes in search of honey (ei) must not make his intention known to anyone and, if he is asked where he is going, he must answer: "To look for wood." If you do not take [076] these precautions, the protecting spirit of the honey is warned of your plan and hides the honeycombs he guards (Diccionario Chiriguano-Español, etc., p. 86).

222 114 The missionary Corrado (p. 43) assures us that grasshoppers, cicadas, the larvae of bees are that many delicious [252] dishes for the Chiriguano. He adds that these insects are roasted. Nino (p. 247) reproduces the statements of his predecessor and completes the list of strange foods by adding /363/ ants, lizards, leaves of the cucurbitaceae, melted tallow, etc. Personally I [191] have never seen the Chiriguano touch these dishes strange to our palates, but I am all the more inclined to believe these two missionaries that the tastes they indicate are actually those of the Indians in other regions.

262 252 Already in the 16th century the Chiriguano passed as snake lovers, even of poisonous species. They cut off the head and tail, skinned them, and roasted pieces of them on live coals. They used to eat them with pimento. No doubt the Spaniards con- [198] fused snakes with iguanas, which even today the Chiriguano justly like (Lizárraga, Vol. I, p. 260).

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*136 ZORRO /fox/. -- This quadruped is not scarce here among the Chiriguano; it thus seems that it adapts to every climate. It is so intrepid that at night it will go about the towns without betraying its presence to the dogs, but if they do smell it, they pursue it immediately and even kill it, although they may suffer for it, because the dog of the Chiriguano Indian and the fox are equally skinny, but among several of them they achieve their purpose and kill it.

This dauntless beast leaves nothing; it makes its meal off whatever it encounters; it causes considerable damage in the cane fields from the time when the plants begin to become sweet and even pulls up recently planted shoots from their furrows or holes. It slashes watermelons and melons without allowing them to ripen, and as a result of this the farmer often does not taste these gifts. It also does damage in maize fields, but this is an abundant crop and the harm is not felt so much; when it can obtain chickens, it does not fail to provide itself with a good lunch or supper, and to this end it approaches towns and houses in the country by day as well.

There are several classes and sizes of them, but they are smaller, like every animal, than those of the other hemisphere. It is difficult to chase them out of the cane fields, the damage to which will only be reduced by reducing the number of foxes, and this can only be achieved by the use of strychnine or some other poison, which, mixed with small bits of meat, is placed on the various trails that they have opened, causing damage to the sugar-cane plants.

*136 *825 • 776 178 [161] We shall see in the course of these pages that the Chiriguano used to venerate it as a divinity with the name of "Aguara-Tunpa," or Fox-God, to whom they attributed more power because he was capable of destroying the works of the true tunpa. Today, when the region has been invaded and populated by so many whites and foreigners and the Chiriguano have been reduced to a handful scattered here and there, those who believe in such humbug are few.

/128 cont./

121 exist, even among savages, since it could be said that, just as there is no people without God, neither is there a people that does not show Him homage in some way.

771 124 As far as the Chiriguano are concerned, I have tried to find out with special care, constancy, and assiduousness what religion they profess and what type of worship they render to their divinities. But all my efforts have been in vain. This is no doubt due to their state of ignorance as a result of their savage life.

[115] I have asked the oldest men of the tribe about their religion, and I have only received vague and insufficient answers on every point, thus being unable to form any idea, even an approximate one, of the religion which they profess. It is beyond doubt true, however, that the Chiriguano have some religion, since they recognize a superior being. They admit the immortality of the soul, rewards and punishments in the other life, and they preserve certain Biblical traditions which would have no explanation if they did not believe in a god and perhaps in the Jehovah of the Holy Bible, or God, Creator of all things (1).

776 775

[805] [191] [192]

1. The Chiriguano, like the Hebrews, count the months by moons, and they have other very similar customs. It is very notable that they also have some Hebrew words.

577 771 /129/ The Chiriguano must have a moral code, that is, natural law, perhaps augmented by some traditional precepts, since they admit rewards for the good and punishment for the bad.

The law, to the extent that it is imperative, comes from the same God, but only religion serves as its base, and this teaches men that it is an unavoidable duty to submit to the precepts of the Supreme Legislator, under penalty of falling into grave punishments conceived by Him.

From what has been said, it can be understood as a logical consequence that the Chiriguano do profess some religion, even though this might not be known.

/129 cont./

196 This same thing is not true with respect to the external
18 demonstrations of worship. The Chiriguano, like every savage
111 people, have no temples, priests, or ceremonial to regulate manifestations of worship. Does this also demonstrate that they completely lack external demonstrations of veneration of a god? It is not easy to give a categorical answer regarding this, because
[186] if it is the truth, as now seems to be the case, for I have not been able to discover any fact which shows the existence of that worship, this could be explained if we take into account the fact that the savage, because of his condition of isolation in the midst of the forest, is distrustful; he looks at the white man with suspicion. This is more than sufficient reason for him to hide his religious acts from the view of the latter.

Nobody could deny us the exactness and solid foundation of this observation, since it is a fact that civilized men, even among themselves, are ashamed to practice religious acts for human reasons, from whence comes the fact that they neither fulfill the duties of their religion nor come to the churches, and, what is worse, they make a show of a religious indifference which is very far from what in fact they feel.

Let us agree then that the Chiriguano does profess some religion, like all other peoples of the world.

This conclusion will be corroborated by what we are going to see in the following sections.

Divinities

•776 That the Chiriguano have some divinities is undeniable, but it is very difficult to determine what character they have and to what category they belong according to the concepts of these savages. This is the reason why it is impossible to determine with certainty whether or not they /130/ profess polytheism or monotheism, when one considers the diversity of excellence, power, and pre-eminence which they attribute to their divinities.

/130 cont./

776 What I am going to set down here will cast some light on this subject and will enlighten the intelligence of the studious man for its investigation.

124 706 From conversations with the true Chiriguanos it is impossible to form any idea of the supreme being that they accept. I say true Chiriguanos, by which I mean those who have had almost no contact with missionaries or whites. Today it is difficult to find one of these. Yet despite this, if one should ask the old people who live far from the missions, "Who made all that we see?" they answer, "Quia ndipó?" Who can it be? "Who created us?" They answer: "Ti! Ndicuaá á?" What do you mean? Do you not know? And they give a purely material explanation, as happened on an exploration and trip that I made several years ago in the company of other missionaries south of the canton or town of Huacaya, where I talked with an old cacique who had taken part in the war of 1875 against Igüembe and who, after the pacification, preferred to live outside the mission and planned to die there, because he is convinced that Indians who live in missions die earlier, just as, according to him, all of his companions from Boicovo have already died, which is not true, because they still are alive there, as old as he is (1).

797 107 829 [114]

1. The Indians have had and will continue to have the false and erroneous idea that baptism makes those who receive it die, because it is administered to men and women who are in immediate danger of death, and hence those who are old do not wish to be baptized when they are enjoying good health.

192 In the Chiriguano language we find the word Tunpa, which means "superior being" or "marvelous being." When for the first time they saw a large clock with its "tick, tock" and the pendulum making the hands move and giving energy to the hammer to strike the hours with its little bell or wire string, when they saw for the first time the photographic camera which reproduced the image of one or more of them, the clock and camera were Tunpa for the Chiriguano. They applied this word to both things,

/130 cont./

192 and it is the one that they apply to anything that causes them wonder or admiration over something new.

•776 192 [197] It is the missionary and the Christians who have made it understood to the Indian that Tunpa means God, the maker of all things visible and invisible. Father Corrado, one of the most illustrious Franciscan missionaries, who thoroughly understood the Chiriguano language, in which he wrote a brief but profound catechism, says clearly in a note on its first page that it cannot be stated /131/ that the word Tunpa means God, and he only puts it in his catechism because all the writers who have dealt with the Chiriguano race give the word Tunpa the meaning of God.

This Tunpa of which the Chiriguano cannot give a clear idea and which the missionaries and Christians explain as meaning the true God, Tunpaete vae (1), is for the Indian the source

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1. The particle "Ete" in this language expresses the superlative degree. It is put after a noun, pronoun, adjective, or verb.

of all that is good, a living and material being, in contrast to another divinity. He makes it rain, he makes the algarrobas, maize, gourds, and everything edible ripen, he wards off sickness and all calamities, in spite of which all these kindnesses are still attributed to the sorcerers, men of flesh and blood like anyone else, who consequently have the name Tunpaete, for which reason I said that, for the Indian, Tunpa is a living physical being. If the missionary, as Columbus did, could announce in advance an eclipse or the appearance of a comet, for the Indian he is a Tunpa (2).

2. Several times I have announced beforehand eclipses of the moon. Last year, long before it became visible, I announced to the Indians the appearance of Halley's comet. This was sufficient for me to be called Tunpaete.

/131 cont./

776 Besides the Tunpa, the old people accepted and still accept in certain places another divinity more powerful than the one described. This second divinity is the astute and intrepid fox, called in their language Aguara-Tunpa, fox god. According to them, he is almost always in a struggle with the first one, and they state as a dogma of faith that he does everything possible to destroy the work of the true God, sometimes showing himself to be a friend of the human race, limited to the Chiriguano, and at other times its enemy.

A Fabulous Belief about the Flood

773 I am going to tell a fable which confirms the second property of the Aguara-Tunpa, because it also gives an idea of the universal flood, argued about so much today, concerning which so many opinions have been forthcoming, some of them admissible and others poorly thought out. Here it is:

It is told that in very remote times the Aguara-Tunpa declared himself at war with the true God, creator of the Chiriguano race. The reason for this enmity is not known, but it seems that he did it because of a contradictory scheme or spirit. In order to spite /132/ the true God, the Aguara-Tunpa set fire to all the fields and pastures at the middle or beginning of autumn, and, together with the plants and trees, all the animals which served as food for the Chiriguano died, so that the latter, who had not begun the sowing of maize and other cereals, as they do now, found themselves close to perishing (1).

1. In a not too distant period, before spring began they burned the fields in honor of Aguara-Tunpa.

In this extremity they came to the banks of the rivers and lined their banks to seek in the waters what they could not find on the land, which was still smoking from the terrible fire, and then Aguara-Tunpa, who was close of being frustrated in his

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793 The Cururu then, before the total flood, went into the ground, carrying burning embers in his mouth, and there, by blowing on them, he did not let them go out. When he found out that the liquid element had disappeared from the face of the earth, he once again took into his mouth the embers of fire, came out into the open air, sought out the two children, delivered the fire to them, and thus they were able to cook the fish which they were patiently extracting from the fresh water, and thus they were able to give warmth to their shivering members (1).

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[825]

1. When children bother a toad, it will puff itself up to remind them that by blowing it did not let the fire go out, reminding them that they owe it gratitude. This is what the very old people tell the children.

The two children grew older until they were old enough to propagate, which in fact they did until the Chiriguano had again multiplied, all of whom, according to them, descended from those two beings.

This story, as I said, clearly manifests, with very slight differences, the idea of the universal flood, of Noah's ark, and of the human race which was saved in it. At the same time it demonstrates the ill will of Aguara-Tunpa against God and His creatures, and the new multiplication of the race on the banks of a river.

796 173 792 The primary divinities, one completely good and the other good and bad, depending on his will, are only two, but tradition and relatively contemporary history teach us that in different times and in various regions some daring Indian who was fond of laziness and other people's property, with a degree of loquacity and extraordinary promises, managed to gather around him in his new house, which he had deliberately built outside the town, a multitude of Indians from near and far and claimed to be Tunpa, an extraordinary and marvelous being. Others, including a certain woman of great daring, have claimed to be Tunpa ichi, "mother of God," which had little effect, and on other occasions,

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796 173 792 finally, the caciques, tired of being oppressed in certain areas by certain bad Christians, have called some unfortunate, but alert and bright boy Tunpa, in order to gather Indians from other areas to hear a flesh and blood God and fight with courage in the holy war (2).

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2. The Mexicans, at the time they were conquered by Hernán Cortes, had temples and idols, with priests serving them. When they beat on the holy drum, the fury of the warriors was kindled. In one battle Cortes lost 60 Spaniards, who were burned before the idols.

796 173 792 791 In this last case the illustrious Missionary Father Angélico /134/ Martarelli, in his appendix to the history of the missions says in substance the following: "The boy whom the caciques chose to deceive the rest assumed the name of Tunpa so that his oracles would be believed and respected with great reverence. He was shut up in a hut and from there, through his counselors (one of whom is still alive and very attached to the missionary), gave answers to those who asked, Indian or white. These must respect his advice with all humility, and they were damned if they declared themselves unbelievers, while those who were good joined the ranks behind his flag.

Beliefs in the Spirits

152 It is not unusual for someone who is passing through Chiriguano towns to hear, either near or far, a man or a woman, or sometimes many people, crying, especially at night. In this last case [795] it causes sadness and who knows what terror for white hearers or for missionaries, because these wails sound like those of condemned souls, and it seems as if they are crying about their misfortunes 775 and the loss of eternal blessings.

/134 cont./

775 If one asks the Indians about this point, they answer that a woman has seen in her dreams the shade of her departed husband, or he that of his departed wife, and both, those of their children, relatives, or grandparents, for all of whom they have an excessive fondness, and it can be deduced from this that in the Chiriguano race there is a confused belief in the immortality of the soul, since, with regard to the body, they themselves can see that everything turns to dust and earth.

775 776 192 Some explorers and travelers have set down in writing that they call the soul Añia; the Indians also confirm these accounts, but they do not give the name Añia indiscriminately to all souls, but only to those which had a very bad death, such as suicide, and those who took a long time to die. But in no case would a mother call her child's soul Añia, nor would relatives use this term for their departed, because Añia means demon or evil spirit (1).

[123] 1. At times I have been called to pray near a person gravely ill, so that he might die sooner and thus be free of that spirit, which, according to them, is bad, but I made it understood to them that I would neither pray as they wished nor was the sick person evil because of taking a long time to die.

The true enemy of the Tunpa is the Añia, demon, but /135/ this latter word only means demon through use, just as iã by the same use means soul. The Indians today give both terms the meaning that I attribute to them, and I still lean on the authority of Father Corrado, who in his catechism defines Añia as demon, Anãrenta, place of demons, Añia inuna, the demon's companion, yaneãgũe, our soul, iãgũe, their soul. The Indians have great 775 776 fear of a demon and souls possessed by demons; they say that they frequently see them at night, and when they have to walk in the shadows, they carry a burning firebrand (1).

[192] 1. Añia means phantom in Chiriguano; iã means shade, cuarasi iã pe, in the shade. Missionaries should make them understand the true meaning,

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because the Indians know that the evil spirit is a phantom, and the soul of the dead a shade; chemembi iã ahecha, I saw the shade of my son, says the mother.

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One night while the smallpox epidemic was going on, they called me, being the Conversor of the Santa Rosa Mission, to catechize a poor and miserable old woman who was some two and a half kilometers from the town. Among those who accompanied me there was one whom I well remember, who is still alive and whose name I shall not forget, who carried a burning firebrand, which was not necessary for me because the night was quite bright. When he was asked the reason for such a thing, he answered: Aña añuguae vaena, to chase away the demons. They all do this especially when they are alone, which is rare, because the Chiriguano only rarely goes out at night because of his fear of evil spirits.

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From this it can be deduced with considerable probability that the Chiriguano are descendants of the Guaraní of Paraguay. There were in that region, in past centuries, the missionaries of the Company of Jesus, who are famous for their apostolic work and for the suffering which they experienced in the reduction of the region. Because of the sorcerers some of them even suffered martyrdom.

I had the opportunity to read a brief history, which I have mentioned above, written by Father Antonio of this same company, and I learned that the Guaraní believe in sorcerers and saw the Aña, demon, at all times and places. It destroyed the wheatfields and other plantings, did damage in their houses and burned them. Even the Guaraní called the bad spirit Aña which the said missionary applies to the demon (2).

2. A work written in the Guaraní missions of Paraguay.

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000 Revelation teaches us that legions of angels were lost because of an error or the grave sin of pride and passed into the category /136/ of the condemned or demons. Faith, reason, and common sense teach us that perverse men who die in their perversity are separated from good ones, as evil-doers are separated in this world by being imprisoned in jails. Divine justice demands punishment for the perverse, who, like condemned persons, pass into the category of lost spirits and as semblance of the demons, God allowing this, and they can appear to those of us who live here in the world to detain us along the way of sin or to warn us about it.

776 787 Under this concept it is not repugnant even to common sense to admit the probability that the Chiriguano do see the Añia, demon or evil spirit. Sacred history speaks of visions and apparitions; profane histories cannot combat them, but rather they relate innumerable facts of demoniac apparitions which have appeared by means of spiritualism. It is not strange that such a thing should happen among the Chiriguano. Doubtless it is incredible that it should be so frequent. They say that they see the demons at every moment of the night, whenever there is no fire or light, but this is a puerile worry, and due to fear and fright in some and to ignorance in others (1).

[372] [787] 1. In all the houses of the true Chiriguano there is always a fire burning at night for the principal end of keeping away the evil spirit or Añia.

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Beliefs Relative to the Creation

[115] Before going on I am going to relate what was told to me by the cacique Anduari of the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission, who, in order to increase his income, is a sorcerer or witch doctor for the Indians and some whites in a wide area. According to the account that follows, the human race, or the Chiriguano, was destroyed twice. The first time and its restoration have already been seen. The second occurred in the following way (2).

[585] [777] 2. Anduari gave his account in the presence of his

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Genii

776 171 Where ignorance dominates, superstition is the result, I imagine, since all the tribes adjacent to the Chiriguano must believe in the existence of genii or owners of certain places who, not to offend anybody, are even accepted by some members of the white race, especially when dealing with buried treasures. This is not the least strange, since before the arrival of Christ all humanity, except for the Hebrews, believed in this, and even today in those places where the light of the Gospel has not penetrated a belief in genii prevails, even among enlightened people, because only the Gospel dissipates /illustration appears here/ /145/ the mists from the soul and destroys error, consequences of the fall of the first man.

778 776 In Chiriguano the tutelar genii of a place are called Iya, owner in the literal sense. If the Chiriguano pass by places where there is some genie, they find it difficult to approach, and if one asks them where there might be some limestone or gypsum, they will not tell for fear of the Iya, who would take revenge by killing the Chiriguano who caused the place watched over by the genie to be discovered. If something useful must be taken from such a place, they do it with the permission of the Iya (1).

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1. The presence of the Iya in places where petroleum is found is undeniable for the Chiriguano. They will take what is absolutely necessary of this liquid to cure the sores of their horses, cows, etc.

135 When the San Buenaventura Mission was founded, the missionary made every effort to try to find gypsum and limestone, but no Indian was willing to tell where it was abundant. Nevertheless, by chance, while the foundations of the church were being built, it was discovered that many of the stones being used were of hydraulic lime, an abundant vein of which was found about 300 meters from the church itself on top of a hill. Gypsum up to today has not been found in the areas thereabouts for the same reason, but there are signs of its presence. In

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The Santa Rosa Mission Band

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Caraparirenta there is an occasional stone of this, which has been brought there by water.

In Huacaya Canton, along the shores of the Pilcomayo on the lower slopes of the hills of Oriente, it is asserted that there must be mines or deposits of gold. A stream brings little nuggets to [648] certain places. Almost all the whites there say that the Indians pick up these nuggets, sell some of them, and work others into rings or earrings for their wives, but up to now, however hard the whites have tried to discover the place, they have never found an Indian who would take them (2).

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2. They say that in the woods on the peak of a small hill there are two bells hanging from a tree and in another place a building with two

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776 778 small apartments, owned by the Iya, a child who leaves footprints when it walks. They believe these things as though they were real.

312 778 823 776 Among the many springs that are plentiful in the San Buenaventura de Ivu Mission there are several with hot, sulphurous water. None of the old people will go near these springs, and the only ones who do it are boys and girls who, because they have embraced the Catholic religion perhaps and because the teaching of the /146/ missionary makes them understand that only God need be feared, have no fear of these inoffensive things. Nevertheless, [761] when some schoolgirl dies, the old people say that such a thing has happened because of the lack of care shown by them when they approached and bathed in these springs owned by the Iya.

778 776 [761] [753] The aforesaid shows that the old Chiriguano is very superstitious, and because of his love of life he respects the places where the imaginary genii can be found. If such places were discovered and disturbed through someone's error, he either would soon die or he would lead an unfortunate life full of long sicknesses ending in death, and for this reason it is impossible for a true Chiriguano to reveal the places which, according to his affirmations, are possessed by genii (1).

1. At the end of the year 1899 a gentleman from Sucre began work in the petroleum site of Mandiyuti in Cuevo. Unfortunately, he died of acute bronchitis, but the Indians attributed his death to the anger of the Iya.

Sorcerers

754 756 Another consequence of ignorance is a belief in sorcerers. This belief, however, is much more general. The working man accepts it, as does the moderately enlightened. The man who is in a completely savage state accepts it, as well as the one who is beginning to become civilized. It is accepted in America, as in old Europe, extensive Asia, deserted Africa, and newest Oceania. Nevertheless, the word "sorcerer" does not have the

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754 same meaning everywhere. In Europe the ignorant masses call
756 sorcerer or witch the man or woman who has made a formal pact with the devil; among the Chiriguano and whites of the Gran Chaco it is the man or woman who succeeds in curing illness or who is in possession of other prestigious abilities (2).

752 2. I know an Indian who treats snake poisoning
756 without using any medicine. He blows upon and rubs the bitten part, and it gets well with no
[825] other remedy. He catches snakes, holds them against his breast, puts them in his pockets, in his hat, and they do not bite him. I cannot explain this phenomenon.

773 But who was the father of sorcerers among the Chiriguano?
825 Guarerai, Indian, Iñeé iya vae, eloquent one, told the following
•776 story: In a very remote epoch there was a general drought which
756 continued with the imminent danger of all the sown fields being
754 lost. When the cause had been discovered by the king of the birds, Gũiraqué, the kite, organized a commission to the lord of rain, called Choncho, so that he might /147/ make it rain. But as the latter paid no attention to the king's embassy, he came personally to find out why and to punish his disobedience if he found him guilty. But the choncho answered that it was not up to him, but up to another bird called chena, whom King Milano confronted, and as he wavered when he denied it or tried to free himself of blame, suspicion was aroused that he was the author of so much evil, and as the evil-doer he was immediately run through by King Milano's lance.

787 This is a fable, but it is certain that the choncho is respected
825 and feared. If this small bird sings in an angry tone, it is a sign to the Chiriguano that evil will come to him, and then he commends himself to it and says: aguye ndepochi, cheru mi, tome taicó cavi; do not be angry, may everything go well with me. If it sings happily, the Chiriguano will be well received by his relatives and friends, and if the choncho says, To, To, it is a sign that wherever he goes he will find a lot of chicha, for which reason they never do any harm to this little bird.

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825 According to the story of Guarerai, the choncho is the
826 father of good sorcerers, especially those who make it rain, and the chena is the father of bad sorcerers, or those who hold back the rain. In any public calamity in certain places, all the Indians will gather around the Ipaye, or sorcerer, so that the calamity may cease. If this continues despite the sorcerer's promise and he is unable to blame anyone else for his impotence, as the choncho did, he is killed with blows and burned without pity, but if he can blame it on another chena, the latter will suffer the capital punishment, and his protests of innocence or ignorance will be of no avail. Such is the fury of the mob when they are exalted by the harangues of the good Ipaye!

825 Before passing on from these feared and respected birds, I
787 shall say in passing that at night a whitish bird that they call
763 Teté walks and flies about. When they see it, it is a sure sign to the Indians that in some house the women are about to cut their hair as a sign of mourning, that is, that someone in the town will die. As for the small owl /lechuza/, Suinda, the beliefs of the Chiriguano are the same as those of the common people of Europe and America, the differences among them being slight (1).

765 1. As will be seen, mourning among the Chiriguano women consists of cutting their hair and wearing the dirtiest rag on their heads. Mourning is always complete, that is, they observe strict mourning for any dead person.

756 /148/ Good sorcerers, represented by the choncho, are very
754 compassionate, and they do everything possible so that the race may enjoy good health, fortune, good crops, without experiencing hunger or epidemics, while bad sorcerers bring every evil to the poor Chiriguano. They hold back rain and order epidemics, as well as hunger and death. Bad sorcerers are called Mbaecuá.

754 The Chiriguano does not die because it is so decreed, because
761 it is a condition of human nature; he does not die as a result of sin of the first man. He dies because bad sorcerers exist; without

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301 171 Berry women put pieces of glass and bits of ivory in their lips, respectively; among the Mittoo /Mittu/ and the Lobbatk, men and women wear in the lower lip tembeta that are conical in shape, and in addition the women even wear hoops in the upper lip (2).

2. In many tribes of the world, the tembeta is a mark of modesty, and women who wear it do not show themselves in public without having it in the lip.

In other regions the women are coquettes, only wearing in their upper lip a wood or ivory hoop, which the Sciulus do. Finally, even the Cormá /Korma/, investigated not long ago by the Italian Bottego, wear in their lip wide wooden hoops which increase the wideness of the lip itself.

In North America the tembeta is used by preference by the /233/ women; it serves them as an ornament, and they put around it as many little pieces of wood as they have years of age. The tembetas of the Tapíi of Isoso are small, and those of the Choroti and the Tapiete are of wood or of cane; no doubt up until today it was difficult for them to get the metal to make a de luxe one (1).

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1. The Tapiete are, or were, Chiriguano Indians. They stayed near the inlets, where there is flat land with hills and streams, in order to be able to do their planting.

301 773 776 According to what is known through faith, clothing was given to humanity as punishment for its disobedience, a punishment which has been converted into the luxury of frequent and extravagant fashions, so also among the Chiriguano does there exist the fabulous belief that the tembeta, which today they consider to be a distinctive mark of the race and a sign of virility, strength, and valor, was nothing other than a bitter and well-deserved punishment which a marvelous and very

/233 cont./

301 773 776 powerful being inflicted upon them because of the weakness and laziness that distinguish them, corresponding to the opinion the reader may have formed in the course of these lines. They attribute its origin to the Tunpa, source of all goodness, and to the Aguara-Tunpa, whom they regard as the source of all evil, as has been seen. Under this concept, the one who punished them was not the former, but the Aguara-Tunpa. I shall end this ninth chapter by telling a fable in which the belief in the punishments that humanity may deserve from a superior being will be seen.

A Legendary Tale

539 173 The Indians say that formerly there was no distinction between men; all were of the same color and spoke the same language. It has already been said in previous pages that the Chiriguano of certain regions believe that the original language was Quichua /Quechua/. What caused the diversity 539 of color and the diversity of language? Here is the legend (2).

> 2. If one asks a Chiriguano about the origin of all men, he answers that they are different from us; they have been made ugly, miserable, poor, and ignorant.

Two men of old were short of food and had wretched clothing; they were reduced to extreme suffering and were on the point of dying. The Aguara-Tunpa, in spite of /234/ his evil inclination and his abhorrence of humanity, in spite of his few philanthropic instincts, was moved to compassion for the unfortunate men and went to them and said, "I wish to help you and put an end to your miseries, to your misfortune and needs, because I can do it; in spite of the fact that you consider my enemy your good friend and me your enemy, I wish to do you a favor so that you may see that when I want to be I am more powerful than your friend, who does not know how to succor you in your present calamities.

/238 cont./

177
648 for himself, for his children, and for his wife (1).

1. Perhaps without intending to do so, the whites have done and are doing a work of charity for the Indian, that of moralizing him somewhat through work, during which he neither gets drunk nor thinks of trifles, etc. Only in some places a little moderation is needed in order not to discourage him.

241
773
● 776 It was also the Aguara-Tunpa who taught the Chiriguano the cultivation of land, since, seeing that he had not been able to remedy his misery and needs by handing over the bows and arrows, he once again visited his poor hut, and seeing him thin and emaciated, he gave him all kinds of seed so that he might make them bear fruit, teaching him the method of burying them and advising him also of the way and the time for pulling out the weeds with a weeder, because he would have seemed bad before his enemy and before the Indian himself if he had not completed his philanthropical work, after criticizing so much the true friend of Chiriguano humanity (2).

2. The Aguara-Tunpa, Fox God, did not tell him that the seeds could be eaten right away, because in that way they would have been lost immediately. After they had germinated, he advised that when they were ripe, he could have food for himself and for his family.

423 Every Chiriguano has a small plot of cultivated land, sufficient for himself and for his family. Nobody had previously entered the area in which the Indians live, so that nobody disputed their property rights, as they should not be disputed today, because they are the owners ab immemorabili, and no individual could have sold what belonged to the community.

6: Nordenskiöld--144 E-5 (1908-1909) 1912 SF10 Chiriguano SF 10
Chane SF 8

c /293 cont./
539 South America. Since, however, this is not the proper place
171 for comparative studies with regard to the legends collected
by me, I have contented myself with only presenting the ma-
c terial.
539 As we have seen, we learn to understand some of the
religious conceptions of the Indians from the legends. They
are also interesting from the viewpoint that a whole assort-
ment of little features from the life of the Indians is repro-
c duced. They give us a glimpse into their imaginative life.
539 Only the content of the legends collected by me, not
114 the form, is usable as research material. I hope that the
126 native South American ethnographers in particular will add to
the collection made by me and also write down the legends
in the original languages. In order to be able to do this,
however, a complete /294/ mastery of them will be necessary.
The best method would be to let the Indians tell these legends
into a phonograph.

Ec
824 The Indians and Natural Phenomena.
Ce
[773] In one of the Chané legends the story is told of how
Ec Yahuête, the two-headed jaguar, was on the point of de-
•[776] vouring the moon. Mbiringay called Yahuête "Yahuarôhui."
Ec These Indians explain eclipses of the sun and moon by saying
[771] that the sun and moon are attacked by Yahuête. The Choroti,
[776] too, as has been mentioned, speak of a predatory animal that
attacks the sun and the moon.

If one wanders with an Indian through forest and
meadow on a starlit night, the starry sky is his compass and
his watch. He will point to Orion or some other constellation
Ce and show how much farther it will move before one arrives.
824 He does not give names to many constellations, but he
knows them all. The Chané call the part of the Milky Way
nearest the Southern Cross "yándurape," that is, ostrich-way;
the Southern Cross, along with a few adjacent stars, is